

Alternatives to policing

Comment using #justicematters

Why do we need alternatives to Policing?

Or why are the police biased and counter-productive at the same time?

Tim Hope

What are the police 'good for'?

- Traffic Control and Offences (Observation)
- Accidents and Emergencies (Mobilization)
- Homicide Investigation (Detection)
- Public Order (Paramilitary)

'Good for' Methods of the Police

- Proactive and specialised
- Resource-intensive
- Can be enhanced by technology
- Delivers Public Goods (cannot be entirely privatised)
- Deals with the exceptional to 'normal' life
- Reinforces Order
- Operationally can go very wrong (e.g. Hillsborough)
- Agency of the State (e.g. Miners' Strike)
- But even if we don't like it (e.g. paramilitary policing), its hard to imagine an acceptable alternative (e.g. The Cossacks and the Gestapo)

What are the police not good for?

- Dealing with the problems and harms of citizens in their private, everyday lives, including criminal offending, insecurity and victimization...
- ...Because they use methods that are *inevitably* not only biased but also counter-productive since they rely upon the *Institution of Suspicion* which is the operating principle of the police

The Institution of Suspicion

*After David Matza, *Becoming Deviant* (1969)*

- “...a tentative solution to the constant pressures to which the police are subjected...[that]...comes into use when police, faced with a considerable volume of crime, are asked to provide an account of their effectiveness along with an account of their propriety, or legality...”

The Institution of Suspicion

David Matza, *Becoming Deviant* (1969)

- through the use of *suitable suspects*
- and an invisible reduction in their legal safeguards
- the safeguards guaranteed the rest of society are upheld
- a moderately acceptable account of police efficiency is provided
- ...and a few convicts produced.”

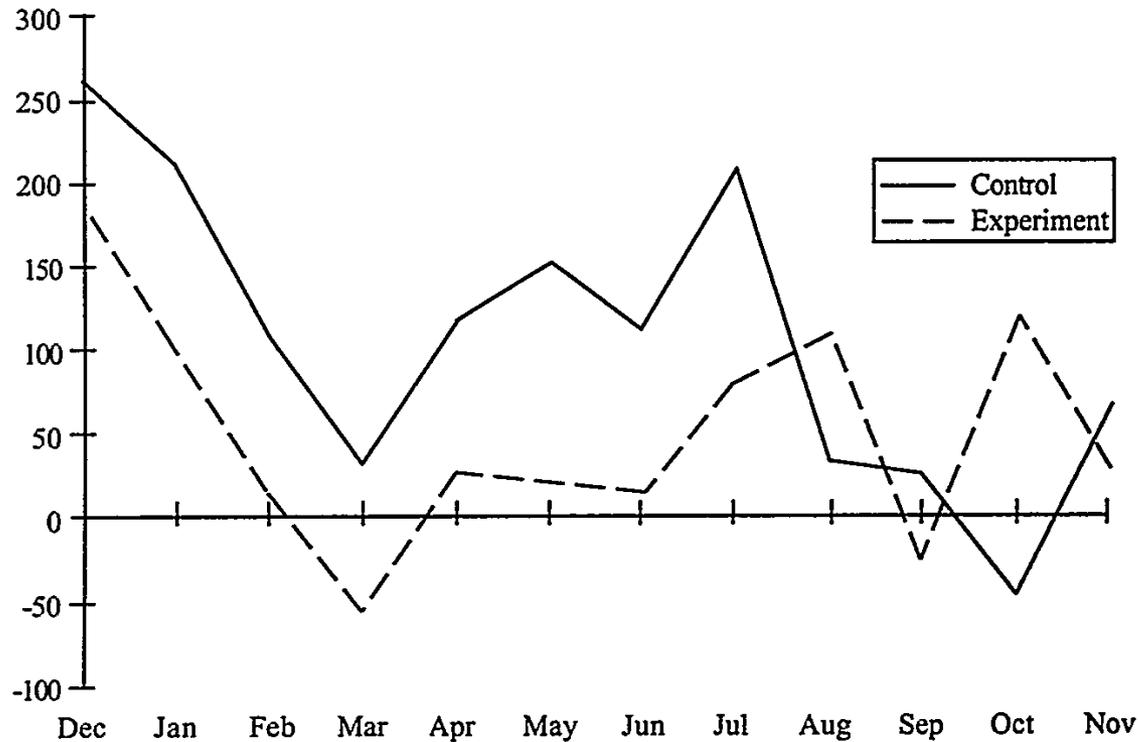
Suspicious Policing

- Deterrence
- Law Enforcement
- Crime Prevention
- Reassurance

General Deterrence

"...We could provide absolute security, eliminate every source of violence except domestic violence, if we put a street light every ten yards and stationed a policeman every thirty yards throughout the city. But that would be very expensive, and so we settle for something less. How much less can only be decided politically" (Michael Walzer, 1983:67).

Experimental Year in Total Crime Calls by Month and Treatment Group



Deterrent policing by patrol?

Sherman, Lawrence W., and David Weisburd. "General deterrent effects of police patrol in crime "hot spots": A randomized, controlled trial." *Justice Quarterly* 12.4 (1995): 625-648. Figure 2

On Being Known to the Police

- Record the Usual Crimes
- Round-up the Usual Suspects
 - Prior Arrests (recruit the Usual Suspects)
 - Intelligence (supervise the Usual Suspects)
 - Retain DNA (promote Suspects)
 - Stop and Search (acquire new Suspects)
 - Bring up the Bodies
- Reassure the Usual Victims

RECORD THE USUAL CRIMES

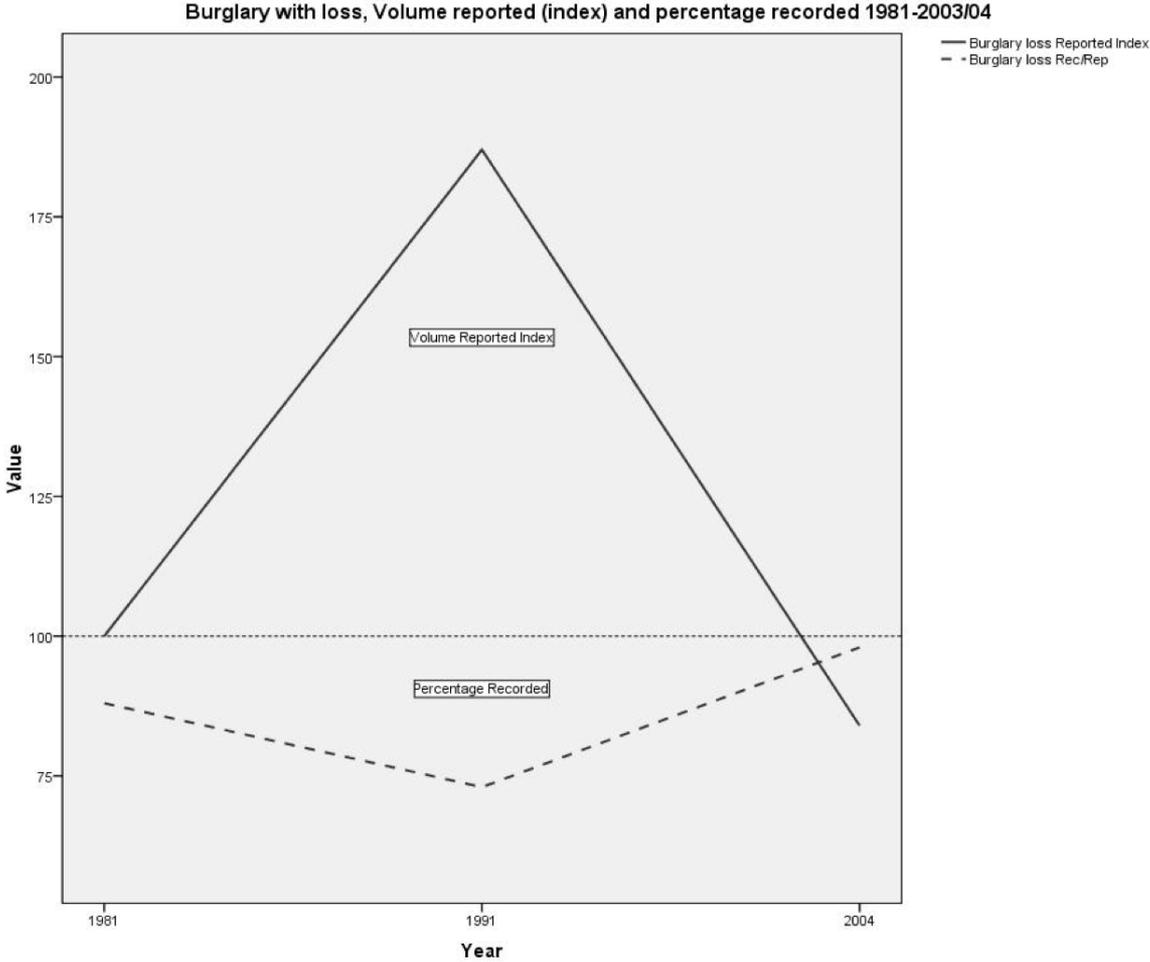
Record the Usual Crimes

Disparity between rates of incidents reported by the public to the police and rates of crimes recorded

Type of incident/crime	Proportion of reported incidents (Percentage)	Proportion of recorded crimes (Percentage)	Odds that a call to an incident will result in a recorded crime
Anti-social Behaviour	27	30	1 in 5
Violence	10	9	1 in 6
Burglary and theft	16	58	1 in 1.5
Other	46	3	1 in 100
Total	100	100	1 in 5

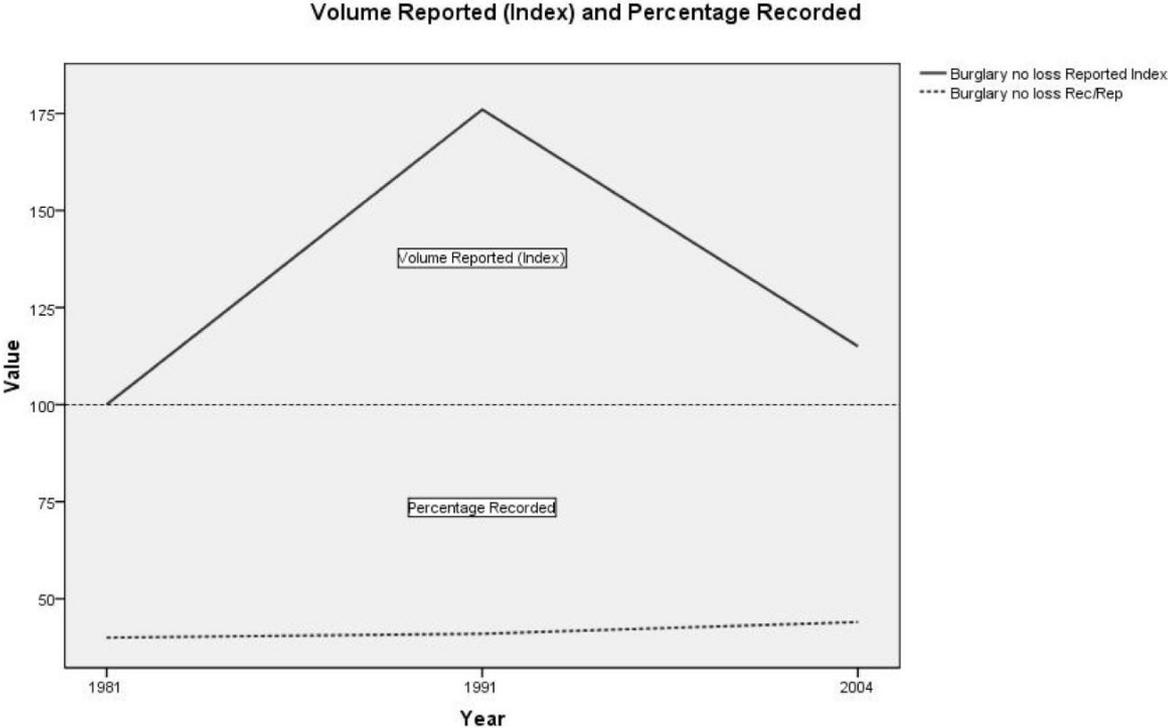
Data were kindly made available by the Chief Constable and included all calls and all recorded crimes for the year 2000, excluding road traffic incidents. Data were collected before the introduction of the NCRS, so they might not be similar to the situation now. Only a broad equivalence between incident and recorded crime codes could be established as sufficiently similar categorically. The research was funded by the Home Office, and is also presented in a slightly different form in Hope (2013; Table 3.1). The odds are calculated from the data using Bayes' Rule, with the prior probability set as the overall recording probability (i.e. 0.18).

Not Being Known to the Police (cuffing and gaming)

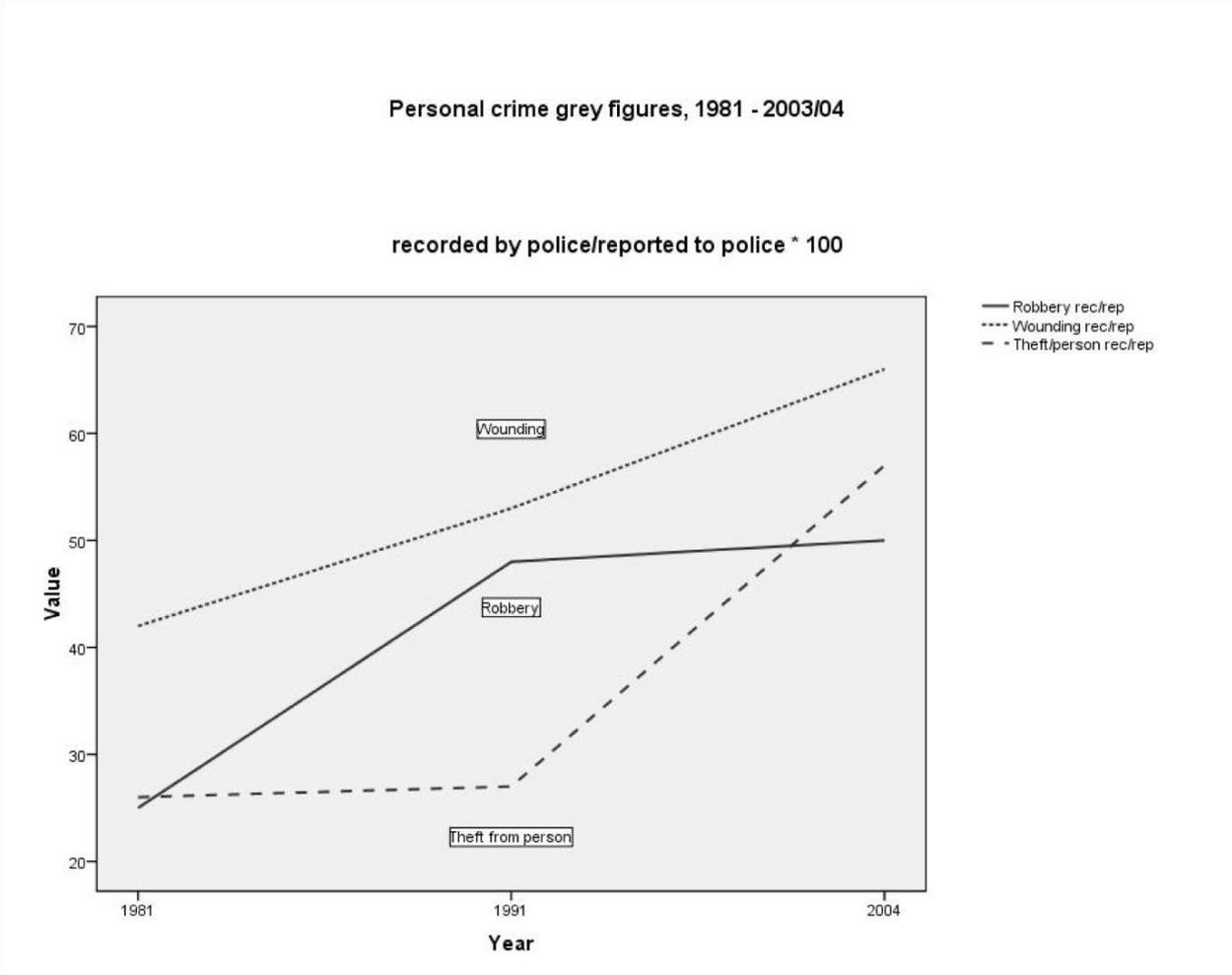


Not Being Known to the Police (cuffing and gaming)

Burglary No loss, Reported and Recorded, 1981 - 2003/04



Not Being Known to the Police (cuffing and gaming)



ROUND-UP THE USUAL SUSPECTS

Predictive Policing?

(Mary Tuck, extracts from Hare, 1993: 88-93).

“...It’s terribly dangerous. They try to do it in America, and guess what? He’s black, he’s from the inner city and he’s into drugs. These are the predictors. But, of course, most black inner-city kids don’t turn into career criminals. So if you treat them all as if they will, you risk a terrible class-based injustice...its horrible for [the police], poor dears, because they don’t want to be defeatist. They don’t want to sort of say, ‘The rain it raineth every day’. But if they were cleverer...”

Round-up The Usual Suspects

'Predictors' of Gun-related Homicide Convictions amongst the suspect population of Philadelphia, PA

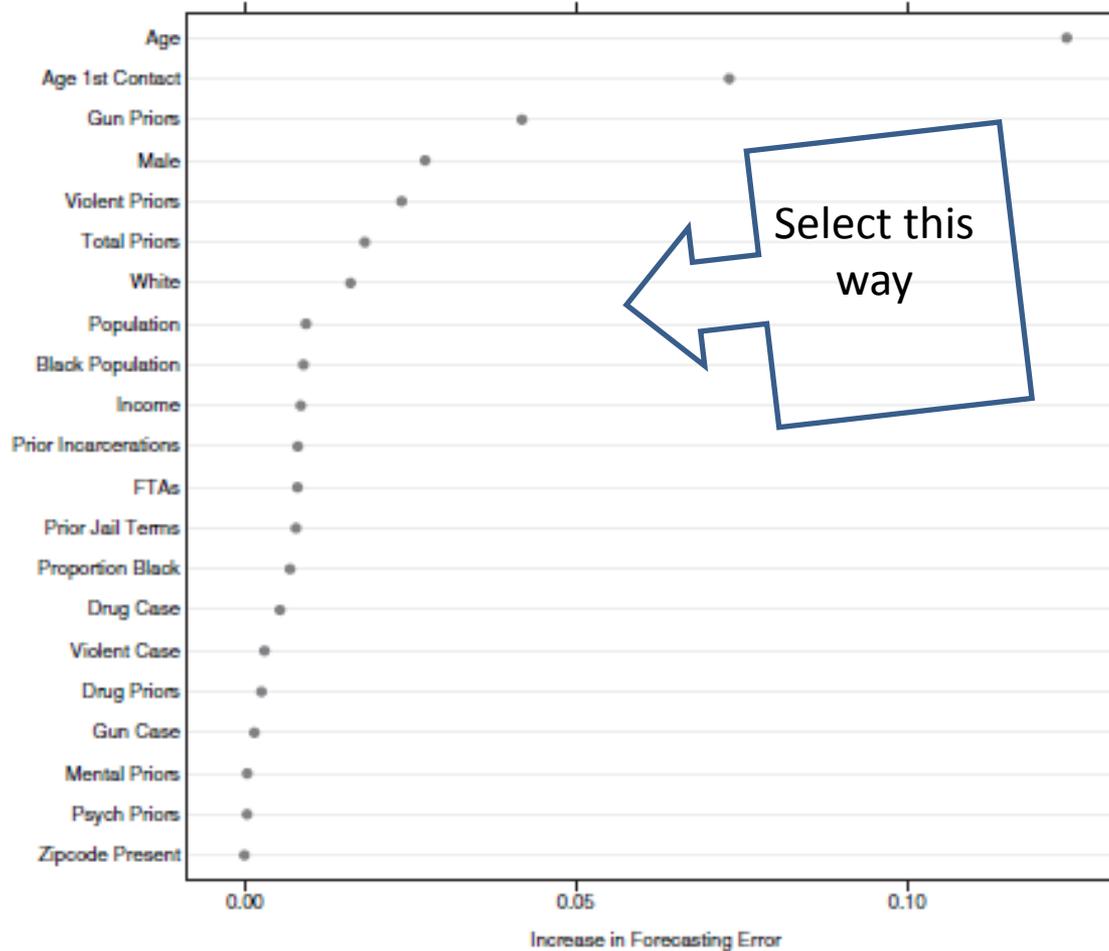


Fig. 1. Predictor importance for forecasting skill

Source: Berk *et al.* 2009: Figure 1



Error in Predicting Guilt

Backward selection (Sword of Damocles) vs. Forward Prediction (Risk Factors)

	Predicted Not Guilty	Predicted Guilty
Found Not Guilty	0.9407 (True Negative)	196 (False Positive)
Found Guilty	0.5794 (False Negative)	153 (True Positive)

Ratios: Backward selection/forward elimination

Adapted from: Berk *et al.* (2009: Tables 1 and 2)

The Usual Suspects

Persons convicted following August 2011 Riots
(odds ratios, with relevant base)

- Claiming out of work benefit 2.9
- Job-seekers 5.0
- Free school meals 2.7
- Home area child poverty rate 21.3
- Juveniles 22.5
- Educational special needs 3.1
- Excluded from school 6.0

Source: Government Statistical Release

Round-up the Usual Suspects

Convicted Rioters (August 2011) *versus* Total Offenders Brought Before the Courts (BBC)

Odds ratios ($p.$ Rioters/ $p.$ Total BBC)

- One or more prior convictions 2.5
- Previous imprisonment 0.7
- First time offenders 1.0
- Persistent offenders 0.8

Source: Ministry of Justice



REASSURE THE USUAL VICTIMS

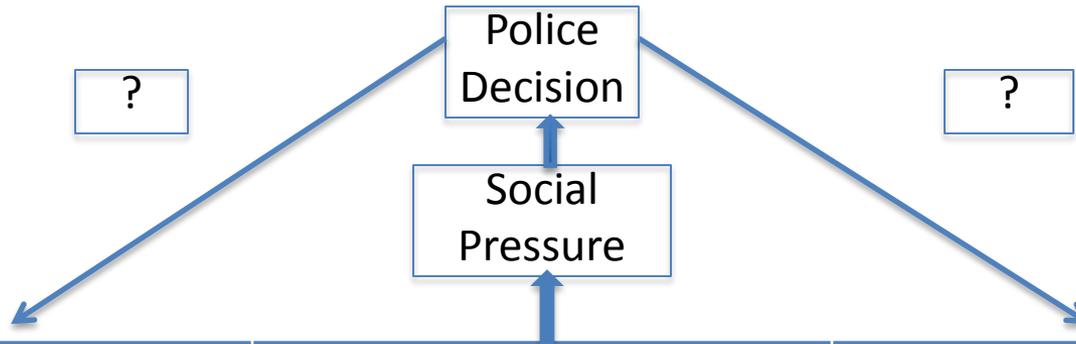
Delivering Crime Prevention (Neighbourhood Watch), Or serving the deserving (respectable) victim?

British Crime Survey data (Hope and Trickett, 2004)

Aligned Risk = NW	Non-aligned Risk > NW	Privileged Risk < NW
Non-manual	Renters	Over-60s
Children 5-11	Rental area	High rate of over-60s in area
Detached house	Casual employment	
Affluent area	High rate of teenagers/lone parents in area	
Enclaves in urban areas	Ethnic minorities	

**THE POLICE: MANICHEAN STREET
PREACHERS?**

Reassure, Ignore, Suspect



Reassure	Ignore	Suspect
Respectables	Women	Usual Suspects
Deserving victims	Children and Young People	Suspect Populations
Property owners	LGBT	
Insurers	Minorities	
The General Public	Organized Crime	
Themselves	Corporations	
	The Disadvantaged	
	The Vulnerable	

Alternatives to Policing

NOW, OVER TO WAQAS...

ALTERNATIVES TO POLICING

Dr Waqas Tufail, University of Liverpool

Policing 'in crisis'

- Policing in its most *recent* period of crisis
- Myth of 'golden age' of policing – sustained through popular culture
- Stephen Lawrence, Hillsborough, Orgreave, 'plebgate', 'spycops' – proven to have shaped public opinion
- But what about the *everyday*?

Stop and Search – The facts

The Equality and Human Rights Commission states that:

- Black people 7 times more likely to be stopped under s.1 of PACE than white people
- Asian people twice as likely to be stopped
- Black people 26 times more likely to be stopped under s.60
- Asian people 6 times more likely to be stopped under s.60
- Asian people 11 times more likely to be stopped at UK borders
- Black people use less drugs than white people but are 6 times more likely to be stopped and searched for drugs (Release)

Overall, over 1 million stop and searches a year. Arrest rate of 9%, conviction rate of 1% (StopWatch)

PhD Study – Policing Partnerships

- Three case study areas
- Ethnographic method – 250 hours observation, 40 interviews
- Interview transcripts and fieldwork diary entries analysed

The homeless men 'problem' - 'Put me on to the Borders guy'



The homeless men 'problem'

'they should be working or claiming benefits, they are doing neither, they are committing crime'

How (not) to deal with prostitution

- Young woman, with mental health issues, subject to numerous partnership meetings
- Found to be non-compliant
- Issued with 5 year ASBO – then named and shamed

How (not) to deal with child sexual exploitation

- In one case study area, exploitation of young women considered a priority
- Told of need to 'educate' Asian boys on how they treat women
- After Rochdale 'grooming' scandal, Greater Manchester Police singled out for particular criticism

How (not) to deal with child sexual exploitation

- In four year period between 2008 – 2012, at least 56 sexual offences against women by police officers, including rape
- IPCC and ACPO report published in September 2012. Chair of the IPCC, on sexual abuse by police officers stated; “There is evidence to suggest it is commonplace”

Some findings from PhD study

- Police use residents and partner agencies for legitimacy to carry out functions that are nearly exclusively based around intelligence gathering and enforcement
- Partner agencies are only valued by the police if information or 'intelligence' can be provided, or additional enforcement powers
- Evidence of partners co-opting enforcement and surveillance roles – whilst also evidence of some resistance to this shift

What are the alternatives to policing?

The possible:

- adoption of a 'reducing social harm' perspective within local partnerships – without a police presence. Prioritising a welfare as opposed to punitive agenda
- Expansion of radical, independent police monitoring groups

The utopian?:

- Police abolition

Alternatives to policing: Non-police community safety partnerships

- Predicated on alleviating social problems through welfare as opposed to enforcement based punitive methods
- Potential to address the democratic deficit within police dominated partnerships
- Most urgently required in those marginalised areas at the 'sharp end' of policing

Alternatives to policing: radical, independent police monitoring groups



Alternatives to policing: police abolition

- A political, as opposed to policy issue?
- Questions regarding the role of the state – policing a feature of ‘liberal democracies’, autocracies and dictatorships alike
- Parallels with arguments surrounding prison abolition – how should violence be responded to?

Thank You For Listening

Any Questions? E-mail: w.tufail@liverpool.ac.uk